584 make the young man once more salute the parents of the girl and their companions. Now the girls of the house wash the feet of the visitors, and they take them inside. First they drink beer; thereupon they give them food. When they have eaten, they say good-bye to them. They return home; this is now finished.

c. Seeing house and home.

Now the girl's people go to see the young man's house and home, that they may know how their circumstances are. On this occasion the uncles and aunts of the girl on both father's and mother's side, the headman of their village and his deputy and a couple of the village people go along with them. The marriage-broker takes them straight to the house of the parents of the prospective bridegroom. Here they place bedsteads, stools, and wooden slabs to sit on before them, and they sit down. Then they bring water in loṭas[4] [515] and brass-cups, and they salute them one after the other. Thereupon they bring wooden slabs, water and oil in an earthenware lamp-vessel, and after the visitors have placed their feet on a wooden slab they wash their feet and anoint them with oil. When they have been washed the Jǫg Mạńjhi goes inside the house, brings oil out in a small earthenware vessel and one handful of tooth-brush twigs[5] and says to them: Do come along, we shall go to the water. He takes them along there. Here they bathe, clean their teeth and rub themselves in with oil. Thereupon they return to the house and again sit down on the bedsteads, as before. The people of the house now take mats inside and say: Please bring water for the friends in a loṭa; and this is done. The visitors now wash their hands; they take them into the house, and they sit down on the mats.

The Jǫg Mạńjhi then says: Please bring the beer. This is done; first they give the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there, they give each four leaf-cups of beer. Again the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please bring us beer in brass-cups, each of us once; give the friends. Thereupon they give all of them beer, and the village headman says: Please, Jǫg Mạńjhi, call a girl and let her pick up and throw these leaf-cups away. She does this, and they bring a brass-cup and water in a loṭa, thereupon all of them get their hands washed over the brass-cup.

Again the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please bring leaf-plates; and these are brought. First they place one before the village headman, and thereupon one before his deputy, and thereupon [262] before all who are there. The Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Listen, one of you young men come here, give us some parched rice and some flattened rice[6]. First he gives the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there. Now the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please, honoured friends, let us wet the parched and flattened rice. They do this, and again the

[415] [515] [4] The loṭa is a small metal vessel, generally of brass. [5] Like the Hindus the Santals are very careful with their teeth and constantly brush them with a small twig, chewed into a brush. The word dạtạuni, tooth brush, is Hindi. [6] see Santal Dictionary s.vv. khạjạri and tabạn.

585 have given beer to the bridegroom's party; how is it, shall we, while they are sitting there, ask them for the remaining brideprice money or not? If there is not much beer, he will say: We shall settle it now, while they are sitting there.

The village headman and the Jog Mañjhi then both go out. The village headman says: We are to give these friends beer, you, Jog Mañjhi, bring it out from the house. The Jog Mañjhi fetches two men and takes them into the house. There they give them each two leaf-cups of beer, which they drink. The Jog Mañjhi says to them: I say, you two give these friends beer; give to all who have come, big and small. They say to him: [415] Please, Jog Mañjhi, get us two earthenware narrow-necked pots. He procures this for them and gives them a basket full of leaf-cups.

Commencing with the village headman and his deputy they give to the bridegroom's party and to all the village people, and they drink. Now the Jog Mañjhi says: Please, honoured bridegroom's party, we wish to see the remaining brideprice money; do take it out. Then they sing:

[539]

Bring out, young man, bring out
Money, fine like the puṭhi fish.
Bring out, young man, bring out
Gold, like fish-blood.

Hand over, young man, hand over
Money, fine like the puṭhi fish.
Hand over, young man, hand over
Gold, like fish blood.

Who are you sitting there?
Money, fine like the puṭhi fish.
Who are you there with the others,
Gold, like fish blood?

So and so is sitting there,
Money, like the puṭhi fish.
Big people are together there,
Gold, like fish blood.

Now the marriage-broker gives the remaining one rupee (or three or five rupees) into the Jog Mañjhi's hand and says: Here, Sir, is the rest of the money. Commencing with the village headman he goes round and salutes all there. Thereupon the marriage-broker takes out a piece of women's clothing, two cloths for the bride's grandmothers and one cloth for her mother. Seeing these they measure them, how many cubits long they are;

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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cordifolia), Pipal (*Ficus religiosus, Willd*), Palas (*Butea frondosa*) lac-bearing Kusum (*Schleichera trijuga*) are the flora here to be seen in profusion.

Of these, the most predominant and characteristic tree to the Santal areas is the Sal, called *Sarjom* by them, and its distribution is general. It is a tree yielding a hard timber, straight and tall and shining with glossy leaves. It is holy with them, and with it they make their Jahèrthan, (*Holy Grove*). Such straggling clusters of Sal trees are found all over the countryside near Santal hamlets. The Sal serves them the same purpose as the bamboo to the rest of the population. With its leaves they make leaf-cups and plates and its timber invariably goes to their house-building. More useful is the Mohua. Its flower contains sugar and is therefore sweet to eat and nutritious too. The Santal preserves it as food by drying it in the sun and it serves them well for months to come. It serves the same purpose as the mango and the jack-fruit to the rest of the population, who during those seasons take them as their chief diet. The pulp of the fruit is eaten and its kernel yields an oil which is chiefly used by the tribe for their culinary purposes.

March and April are months of joy for the Santal like the Cherry-blossom season in Japan. The Mohua and Sal trees are then in full blossom with their whitish flowers. In the early morning one sees

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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drinks, and we remember how even Gandhiji in his prohibition campaign has excluded the aboriginal from his programme. "Hàṇḍia" (rice-beer) is a compulsory offering to some of their gods and spirits and on social rounds it is customary with the Santal to present pots of beer. The *modus operandi* of the preparation was thus explained to us by a comely Santal woman selling beer under a banyan tree. She said that sun-dried rice is first ground and mixed with a powdered root, called "ràṇu" in Santali (Oriya, *mulika*). The whole mass is then shaped into little balls. Next, rice is boiled and spread out to dry and the balls are then powdered and mixed thoroughly with the rice. The next stage requires the mixture thus obtained to be kept in large earthen pots, (See illustration) covered with "sal"-leaves for three or four days together, in course of which the rice is well fermented. The pots beside the woman contained this mixture and she, with a great deal of gusto, showed us how the fluid of the rice-beer trickled down a bamboo sieve (Santali, "chala"), being pressed by the hand with a handful of fibres (Santali, "pala") to complete the process. She, a

Fermented rice

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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solitary vendor, without thirsty customers at the moment, demonstrated with a smile how to drink it from "sal" leaf-cups. (See illustration).

273
415

Handia being pressed down in the beer-cup

Leaf-cup

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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415
824

The second household article that strikes one's attention is the "Baka," (See illustration) the Santal gourd-vessel, which is made to serve as spoons and ladles by being cut into different sizes. Various kinds of vessels and plates generally of "sal"-leaves called "katkom," and "kholka" are made by stitching them with small sticks like pins or by minute splinters of bamboo. (See illustrations). We saw these things in the house of Basu Hansdak' Prodhan of Asanjora, Mayurbhanj, being used for plates for food. The leaf-industry has reached a sort of perfection in the hands of the Santal in his struggle for existence and we saw even waterproofs for rains were made

Baka (Gourd-vessel)

Santal water-proof (Ghungu)

Leaf-plate

of them. They are called "Ghungu" and made of the leaves of "Siyari" (*Oriya*) trees, called "Jamlar Sakam," by the Santals.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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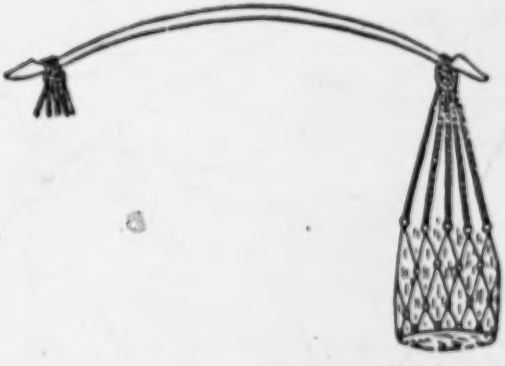
For purposes of transport, they use carrying-nets in the shape of bags slung at both ends of a pole carried on the shoulder called "Sikuar maran." They

Argo



Sika

are made of twisted strings of hemp fibre and are very strong. These are used by men ; while the women carry things on their head while marketing or on travel, using a basket for the purpose. At times one sees them carrying bottles nicely poised on their heads, in utter defiance of all laws of gravitation.

Dress

The Santal women now generally wear bordered "saris" not less than seven cubits in length. Half of this serves as the lower garment being knotted at the waist, the other half is passed over the left shoulder and hangs in the front. They use no veils for their heads of ravendark mass of wavy hair. They keep

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

different kinds of rice fields are Bengali. Maize, a cereal that is important in their economy, has a borrowed name, but other lesser cereals retain their Santali names. In Bankura the Santals have lost the use of their own numerals beyond seven, though apparently these are known and commonly used elsewhere. Even so, in Bankura the Santal word for "twelve" is still used in phrases connected with the recital of tribal traditions, as in the phrase *gelbar paris*, meaning the "twelve clans". Iron has a Santali name, but other metals now in use, such as lead, copper and brass, have Bengali names. In addition to brass and earthenware utensils, the Santals make extensive use of the leaves of the *sal* tree (Santali *sarjom*), which they plait to form many varieties of plates, cups, pipes and cigarettes, and they possess a wide vocabulary to distinguish between the different kinds. Brass and earthen pots they buy from others.[1]

The difficulties of determining the extent of their borrowings in the field of religion may be illustrated by the fact that the language of spells and of prayers offered at the time of sacrificing contains a strong admixture of Hindi-Bengali words. This would seem to indicate that there have been many borrowings at this point; but it is also possible that the one who makes the prayers, wishing to put himself into a favourable relation with the spirits, uses a special vocabulary and so removes himself from the common run of his people when he is acting as a mediator between them and the spirit world. Many of the songs sung nowadays are composed in Bengali. There is a large stock of riddles, some of which are asked and answered in Santali, others of which are asked and answered in Bengali, while yet others make use of both languages.[2]

Only incidental reference has been made to the impact of Moslem culture on Santal life. Reminiscences occur of the period of Moslem rule, such as the following statement: "Concerning the *Turuk* (*Turuk*, or Turk, the name by which Santals refer to Moslems), it is said that they ruin our spirits because they cut the throats of fowls the wrong way. If we eat

[1] Another discussion of the linguistic evidence, giving many examples, and the whole stated from a somewhat different point of view, is to be found in Professor Sten Konow's introduction to Bodding's collection of Folk-Tales.

[2] In a suggestive article published in *Africa* for June 1946, Professor F. C. Bartlett has expanded his thesis in the Julian Huxley lecture of 1944 that each primitive culture displays both "hard" and "soft" points. The methods which he has outlined for determining, in the examination of any particular culture, what constitute the hard and soft points, and in particular the story method, may furnish valuable results when applied to the study of Santal culture.